

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2299

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

DOD WASHDC

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0056

EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON SEPTEMBER 20 MEETING (SALT TWO - 435)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING I MADE A STATEMENT ON INCLUSION OF MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN NEW AGREEMENT AND SAID THAT I WOULD DEAL WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF PHASING SUCH REDUCTIONS IN A SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT.

2. SEMENOV'S STATEMENT WAS, AGAIN BOILER-PLATE, CITING MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE AND LINKING REDUCTIONS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF "EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE" AND IMPLYING THIS INCLUDED FBS.

3. IN OUR SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE TALK, REFERRING TO LANGUAGE IN HIS STATEMENT AT THE PLENARY, I ASKED WHETHER HE ENVISAGED A NEW AGREEMENT TAKING EFFECT IMMEDIATELY ON ITS CONCLUSION OR ONLY COMING INTO EFFECT UPON EXPIRATION OF INTERIM AGREEMENT IN 1977. REFERRING BACK TO COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE THAT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT "WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A NEW AGREEMENT", HE INDICATED THAT IT WAS HIS ASSUMPTION THAT NEW AGREEMENT WOULD ONLY COME INTO EFFECT IN 1977, AFTER INTERIM AGREEMENT HAD RUN ITS COURSE. HE SAID THAT HE HAD NOTED A DIFFERENT IMPLICATION IN MY STATEMENTS AND I SAID THAT

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THAT WAS CORRECT. ALTHOUGH NEW AGREEMENT WOULD, OF COURSE, BE

GOVERNED BY ITS OWN TERMS, I WAS PROCEEDING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT", IMPLIED THAT IT WOULD ALSO COME INTO EFFECT AT SUCH "EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE". THEREFORE, LOOKING TO A TARGET OF NEXT YEAR FOR ITS COMPLETION, WE WERE IN FACT CONTEMPLATING AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD HAVE A TEN-YEAR LIFE. I SAID THAT SUCH A TEN-YEAR AGREEMENT OFFERED OPPORTUNITIES AND POSSIBILITIES THAT WOULD BE DIFFERENT FROM AN AGREEMENT, FOR A SHORTER PERIOD, AND THAT MY DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN BASED ON THIS ASSUMPTION. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD REPORT WHAT I HAD SAID TO MOSCOW AND BE IN TOUCH WITH ME FURTHER.

4. SEMENOV THEN REFERRED TO MY STATEMENT ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE US AT OUR LAST PRIVATE MEETING AND QUOTED FROM SOME US PUBLICATIONS ON INCREASE IN NUMBER OF US WARHEADS SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. IN REPLY I NOTED THAT HE MADE NO MENTION OF MAJOR SOVIET PROGRAMS GOING FAR BEYOND ANYTHING US HAD UNDERTAKEN AND ALSO NOTED MY STATEMENT AT MEETING EARLIER THIS MORNING ON PROBLEM OF TURNING DOWN BY REDUCTIONS PRESENT CYCLE OF ACTION AND COUNTERACTION. POINTING TO MASS OF AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION ON OUR PROGRAMS AVAILABLE TO SOVIETS AS COMPARED WITH SOVIET SECRECY ON THEIR PROGRAMS, AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH THIS FED NATURAL HUMAN FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN, I SAID THAT I PLANNED LATER TO SAY MORE ON THIS SUBJECT. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE JOB OF THE TWO OF US WAS NOT TO TRY TO ASSESS BLAME, NOR WAS ANSWER IN ONE SIDE'S EXHORTING THE OTHER UNILATERALLY TO STAND DOWN ALL OF ITS PROGRAMS WHILE PROCEEDING UNIMPEDED WITH ITS OWN, BUT RATHER TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM BY AGREEMENT. HE SAID THAT HE PLANNED NEXT TUESDAY TO SPEAK ON "RESTRAINT".

5. BELETSKY, IN HIS BILATERAL WITH ROWNY, WAS FAR MORE SUBSTANTIVE THAN HE HAS EVER BEEN IN THE PAST. WITH RESPECT TO REDUCTIONS, HE INITIATED DISCUSSIONS ON WHICH SYSTEMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN AN AGREEMENT. HIS FIRST EXAMPLE WAS BOMBERS AND THEN HE TALKED ABOUT MISSILE SYSTEMS. IN DISCUSSING REDUCTIONS, HE FOR THE FIRST TIME USED THE TERM "THROW-WEIGHT", INQUIRING WHETHER REDUCTIONS WOULD INVOLVE EQUALIZING THROW-WEIGHT. HE DID NOT RAISE FBS. HE PROFESSED GENUINE INTEREST IN UNDERSTANDING US PERCEPTION OF SOVIET STRATEGIC PROGRAMS AND CAPABILITIES.

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6. DISCUSSION AMONG SHCHUKIN, BROWN AND MAY INCLUDED SOVIET CONCERNS ABOUT US BOMBER FORCE AND MISSILES LAUNCHED FROM BOMBERS AND CARGO PLANES, AND THE NEED FOR SOME METHOD OF MEASURING STRATEGIC FORCE CAPABILITIES OF THE TWO SIDES. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIET MILITARY WOULD FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO AGREE TO ANY REDUCTION OF FORCES IN BEING. JOHNSON

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